

## Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 031888

LIMDIS CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE SENT TO SECSTATE DTG P 090629Z FEB 76  
FM AMEMBASSY MANILA

QUOTE SECRET MANILA 1983

S E C R E T MANILA 1983

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, RP

SUBJECT: MILITARY BASE NEGOTIATIONS

REF: STATE 29990

1. I AM PLEASED TO LEARN FROM REFTEL THAT AN EXTENSIVE  
INTER-AGENCY REVIEW OF THE EMBASSY DRAFT AGREEMENT ON  
MILITARY BASES IS UNDERWAY IN WASHINGTON. THE COMMENTS  
AND QUESTIONS INDICATE THAT THIS IS A SERIOUS AND  
SEARCHING ENDEAVOR. WE SHALL ATTEMPT TO BE RESPONSIVE IN  
THIS SAME VIEN. THIS MESSAGE WILL ADDRESS ITSELF ONLY TO  
THE ISSUES OF "STRATEGY AND TACTICS" RAISED IN REFTEL.  
SEPARATE CABLE WILL ANSWER DETAILED ISSUES CONTAINED IN  
PARAS 4-10 OF REFTEL.

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2. ESSENTIALLY, I AM IN AGREEMENT WITH WORKING GROUP OBSERVATION THAT IT WOULD BE IMPRUDENT TO LAY ALL OUR CARDS ON TABLE AT OUTSET. THEREFORE, EMBASSY DRAFT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED MORE IN NATURE OF FINAL NEGOTIATING GOAL RATHER THAN INITIAL BARGAINING POSITION. HOWEVER, EVEN HAVING SAID THAT, I ASSUME THERE MAY BE SPECIFIC AREAS WHERE FILIPINOS MAY INSIST ON DIFFERENT FORMULATIONS AND WHERE WE WOULD BE WILLING TO CONCEDE THEM.

3. MY SUGGESTION TO WORKING GROUP IS TO PREPARE A DOCUMENT WHICH REPRESENTS THE MOST REALISTIC SITUATION THAT WE ARE WILLING TO ACCEPT. THIS SHOULD NEITHER BE OUR MOST OPTIMISTIC DESIDERATUM NOR OUR ROCK-BOTTOM GUANTANAMO. IT SHOULD BE BASED ON ASSUMPTION THAT WE WILL BE ABLE ESTABLISH COOPERATIVE ATMOSPHERE IN NEGOTIATIONS, BUT WILL BE PREPARED MAKE SIGNIFICANT ADJUSTMENTS TO FILIPINO FELT NEEDS. THAT IS THE SPIRIT WHICH INFORMS EMBASSY DOCUMENT.

4. ONCE THIS "IDEAL" DRAFT HAS BEEN AGREED UPON, I WOULD SUGGEST GROUP AWAIT MY RETURN TO WASHINGTON (ON OR ABOUT 30 MARCH) TO DECIDE WHICH PROVISIONS WE WITHOLD IN INITIAL DRAFT TO BE TABLED, WHICH ONES WE MODIFY FOR FALLBACK CONTINGENCIES, AND WHICH ONES WE PRESENT AS FLASHLY LURES. WE MUST BE PREPARED TO MAKE SOME DRAMATIC OFFERS IN OUR FIRST PAPER IN ORDER TO INDUCE THE RIGHT SPIRIT OF COOPERATION IN OUR COUNTERPARTS.

5. IN REPLY TO QUESTIONS POSED PARA 3 REFTEL, I CONTINUE TO CONSIDER IT UNDESIRABLE TO APPROACH GOP FOR EITHER FORMAL OR INFORMAL STATEMENT OF GOP POSITION. CHARGE STULL WAS REBUFFED (MANILA 1037) WHEN HE RAISED ISSUE WITH ROMULO, AND I ASSUME ROMULO'S ATTITUDE REFLECTS DIRECT ORDERS FROM MARCOS. MOREOVER, I CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT ANY GOP POSITION THAT WE EXTRACT FROM THEM WOULD BE EXORBITANT AND THEREFORE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE.

6. WHAT I WILL ATTEMPT TO DO PRIOR TO MY DEPARTURE IS TO OBTAIN INFORMAL READING FROM SECDEF ENRILE ON HIS LATEST THOUGHTS. SINCE DEPARTURE EXEC SECRETARY MELCHOR FROM SCENE, ENRILE HAS PRIMARY INPUT INTO GOP POSITION-  
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MAKING.

7. AS FOR A LIST OF GOP OBJECTIVES, I BELIEVE THEY REMAIN LARGELY AS THEY WERE IN APRIL 1974 PAPER. "AUTOMATICITY" WAS, IN EFFECT, DROPPED BY PRESIDENT MARCOS IN HIS CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT FORD ON DECEMBER 7, 1975. I THINK WE CAN USE THAT CONVERSATION TO BANISH THE ISSUE. "COMMERCIALIZATION" IS SOMEWHAT MORE OBSCURE. IN MELCHOR'S

ABSENCE, IT HAS NO RPT NO SIGNIFICANT GOP CONSTITUENCY FOR CURRENT RPT CURRENT APPLICATION. HOWEVER, IT STILL COMMANDS ATTENTION AS A CONTINGENCY ISSUE TO BE FACED IN THE EVENT U.S. RELINQUISHES USE OF THE BASES. MARCOS LOOKED INTO THIS ASPECT WHEN HE INSPECTED ERSTWHILE BRITISH FACILITIES IN SINGAPORE LAST MONTH. WE THEREFORE MAY HAVE TO CONSIDER AN ANNEX ON THIS SUBJECT. BUT I WOULD DEFINITELY LEAVE THAT FOR FILIPINOS TO RAISE AND WOULD NOT RPT NOT WISH TO ANTICIPATE THEM IN OUR DRAFTING PROCESS.

8. THE MOST TICKLISH UNRESOLVED ISSUE IS "RENTAL." THE SPANISH AGREEMENT AND THE EXPECTED TURKISH AGREEMENT ESTABLISH A LINKAGE BETWEEN BASE UTILIZATION AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE. GIVEN CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS CONTINUATION OF MILITARY AID PROGRAMS (ESPECIALLY GRANT AID) FILIPINOS WILL PROBABLY WISH TO ENHANCE THEIR PROSPECTS FOR CONTINUATION OF SUCH PROGRAMS IN PHILIPPINES BY INCLUDING SUCH PROVISIONS IN THEIR AGREEMENT. WHEN SPANISH DOCUMENTS ARE PUBLISHED, IT WILL NOT RPT NOT BE LOST ON THEM THAT THERE IS A \$24 MILLION ANNUAL GRANT COMPONENT EXPLICITLY STATED AND AN ADDITIONAL \$10 MILLION ANNUAL ELEMENT CONCEALED IN THE CONCESSIONAL TERMS. THE ARGUMENTATION THAT SPAIN IS NOT AN ALLY WILL BE NULLIFIED BY THE TURKISH PRECEDENT WHEN IT BECOMES PUBLIC. WE HAD, THEREFORE, BETTER BE PREPARED TO THIS ASPECT OF THE NEGOTIATION. ONCE AGAIN, HOWEVER, I WOULD RECOMMEND WE LEAVE INITIATIVE ON THIS SCORE WITH FILIPINOS.

9. FINALLY, I REPEAT MY EARLIER ASSUMPTIONS THAT FILIPINO TACTICS IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE RELATED TO THEIR PARALLEL ENDEAVORS WITH US ON ECONOMIC NEGOTIATIONS. ALTHOUGH BOTH WE AND THEY CAN AGREE TO KEEP THE TWO ORGANICALLY SEPARATED, WE SHOULD ASSUME THAT THERE WILL  
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BE A CORRELATION. IF WE ARE PREPARED TO DO SOME OF THE (RATHER MODEST) THINGS THE PHILIPPINES SEEKS ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT - ESPECIALLY TARIFF CONCESSIONS ON MAHOGANY AND COCONUT OIL - OUR WAY WILL BE EASED IN THE MILITARY NEGOTIATIONS.

10. ON BALANCE, I CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THIS WILL BE A TRACTABLE EXERCISE IF WE APPROACH IT IN THE RIGHT FRAME OF MIND. OUR MOST IMPORTANT OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE TO GET THE NEGOTIATIONS BEHIND US AND NOT RPT NOT LET THE LATENT PRESSURES BUILD INTO A NEW PANAMA CANAL SITUATION.  
SULLIVAN UNQUOTE  
INGERSOLL

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